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ABSTRACT

As educators abroad have turned to U.S. colleagues for advice about how to teach democratic citizenship, U.S. educators have been challenged to think more carefully about what civic education is, how to do it, and how to justify it. This paper reflects and deliberates about three key questions: (1) What, exactly, is a common education for citizenship in a democracy? (2) How should a particular kind of common education for citizenship in a democracy be included in the K-12 curriculum and in the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers through higher education? and (3) Why should a particular kind of education for citizenship in a democracy be implemented in K-12 schools and in programs for the education of teachers? The paper summarizes responses about the definition, delivery, and defense or justification of a common education for citizenship in a democracy. It includes discussion of a defensible definition of a common education for citizenship in a democracy; how to deliver or use the definition in K-12 schools and the preservice education of teachers; and why the definition, or something like it, should be in the core curriculum of K-12 schools and teacher education programs. The paper is intended to be a guide to education for citizenship in a democracy. (Contains 2 figures, 14 notes, and 48 references.) (BT)

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DEFINING, DELIVERING, AND DEFENDING A COMMON EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

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Defining, Delivering, and Defending a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

John J. Patrick

The global surge of democracy during the last quarter of the 20th century has prompted a world-wide burst of new interest in civic education. In particular, leaders in post-communist countries have readily realized that the sustained development of an authentic democracy depends, in part, upon development through education of competent and committed citizens, who know what democracy is, how to do it, and why it is good, or at least better than the alternative types of political system.

The rising tide of international concern about education for democracy has stimulated fresh thinking about civic education in the United States of America. As educators abroad have turned to American colleagues for advice about how to teach democratic citizenship, we Americans have been challenged to think more carefully about what civic education is, how to do it, and how to justify it. My ongoing dialogue with colleagues from abroad has led to renewal and refinement of my thinking about education for citizenship in a democracy.

During the past 13 years, the period since the fall of the Berlin Wall, I have reflected and deliberated again and again with colleagues in the United States and abroad about three key questions.

1. What, exactly, is a common education for citizenship in a democracy?

2. How should a particular kind of common education for citizenship in a democracy be included in the K-12 curriculum and in the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers through higher education?

3. Why should a particular kind of education for citizenship in a democracy be implemented in K-12 schools and in programs for the education of teachers?

This paper is a summary of my tentative responses to the three key questions about the definition, delivery, and defense or justification of a common education for citizenship in a democracy.[1] This paper, then, includes discussion of (1) a defensible definition of a common education for citizenship in a democracy, (2) how to deliver or use the definition in K-12 schools and the preservice education of teachers, and (3) why the definition, or something like it, should be in the core curriculum of K-12 schools and teacher education programs.

At the outset, I offer a word of caution to the consumers or users of this presentation: my conceptualization of civic education certainly is an unfinished project, a work in progress that has been and will continue to be modified and improved. So, I urge you to think critically about this presentation and to participate with me in discourse about its strengths and weaknesses as a useful guide to education for citizenship in a democracy.

Defining a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

A worthy definition of education for citizenship in a democracy must be congruent with credible and practical definitions of democracy and democratic citizenship. We need a compelling image of citizenship in a democracy to guide a workable definition of education for democratic citizenship. Lengthy books have been written about the theory and practice of democracy and democratic citizenship. And the legendary social scientist, Seymour Martin Lipset, recently edited a four-volume *Encyclopedia of Democracy*. For the purposes of this presentation, brief definitions of democracy and democratic citizenship are offered, which have

been derived from the vast literature on these two ideas.[2]

Most political scientists agree with a minimal or threshold standard by which to judge whether or not a regime is a democracy. This minimal criterion is the regular occurrence of free, open, fair, and contested elections by which an inclusive electorate selects its representatives in government (Huntington 1991, 7). Thus, there is government by consent of the governed in which the people's representative are accountable to the people.

A more fully developed democracy exceeds this minimal standard by providing constitutional guarantees for civil liberties and rights, which, if justice would prevail, are exercised and enjoyed equally by all individuals in the polity. In such a democracy, there certainly is, in the memorable words of Abraham Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, for the people."[3] However, this popular government is both empowered and limited by the supreme law of a constitution, to which the people have consented, for the ultimate purpose of guaranteeing equally the autonomy and rights of everyone in the polity. In particular, there is constitutional and legal protection of the individual's rights to think, speak, decide, and act freely to influence the policies and actions of government. This kind of political order is properly labeled a constitutional representative democracy, and it provides majority rule with protection of minority rights.

What image of citizenship is compatible with such a democracy? Well, responsible citizenship in a constitutional representative democracy entails the capacity for informed, reasonable, deliberative, and freely made choices in response to competitive public elections and contested public policy issues. Such freely made or self-determined choices, however, must take into account both personal, private interests and general, public interests in order for democracy,

as we know it, to flourish. Thus, there is an inescapable moral dimension to the freely made choices of democratic citizens, which involves pervasive and fundamental concern for the common good of the community.

The good citizen in a constitutional representative democracy takes responsibility for the common good by participating in and contributing to the political and civic life of the community. This quality of democratic citizenship is often labeled "enlightened self interest." Long ago, Alexis de Tocqueville called it, "self interest rightly understood" because through voluntary contributions of time and effort to the good of the community, the citizens help one another to maintain conditions of public well-being needed for their fruitful pursuit of personal and private interests. Tocqueville wrote, "The principle of self-interest rightly understood is not a lofty one, but it is clear and sure. . . . Each American knows when to sacrifice some of his private interests to save the rest" (Bradley 1945, Vol. II, 122-123).

According to Tocqueville, the success of American democracy was anchored in the "enlightened self interest" of citizens who regularly contributed to the common good. A leading American political scientist of our time, Robert Putnam, has confirmed the validity of Tocqueville's insight through his empirical studies of political behavior in the United States and other countries. Putnam's research demonstrates compellingly that the free, positive, and constructive participation of citizens in civic and political associations is "what makes democracy work" (Putnam 1993; 2000).

The four-component model of education for citizenship in a democracy, shown in Figure 1, is congruent with the preceding descriptions of democracy and democratic citizenship. Thus, it may be a useful guide to the construction, development, and implementation of common civic

education in a constitutional representative democracy.

In recent years, there has been general agreement among civic educators about the four fundamental categories or components of education for citizenship in a democracy in Figure 1, which are (1) civic knowledge, (2) cognitive civic skills, (3) participatory civic skills, and (4) civic dispositions. These four categories, for example, were the interrelated components of the framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in Civics. This framework will be used again to guide the next NAEP in civics (NAEP Civics Consensus Project 1996, 17-19).

The generally accepted four components of civic education have been articulated by me and others with minor variations or differences in categorical denotations. But the similarities of the alternative models are much greater than the differences. The model in Figure 1, however, includes several distinct denotations within each of its four components or categories (Patrick 2000a, 5; Patrick 1999, 34).[4]

Before explicating the categories and characteristics of the model, I want to stress the interrelationships and interactions among the four components. Although it is convenient to depict the components statically in a four-tiered illustration (Figure 1), I insist they be viewed and contemplated dynamically to emphasize continuous interactions of the categories in development and implementation of curriculum and instruction. As you respond to the discussion of the four-component model (Figure 1), use your imagination to transcend the linear

Figure 1

Components of a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

1. **KNOWLEDGE OF CITIZENSHIP AND GOVERNMENT IN A DEMOCRACY (CIVIC KNOWLEDGE)**
   a. Concepts/principles on the substance of democracy
   b. Perennial issues about the meaning and uses of core ideas
   c. Continuing issues and landmark decisions about public policy and constitutional interpretation
   d. Constitutions and institutions of representative democratic government
   e. Practices of democratic citizenship and the roles of citizens
   f. History of democracy in particular states and throughout the world

2. **INTELLECTUAL SKILLS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY (COGNITIVE CIVIC SKILLS)**
   a. Identifying and describing information about political/civic life
   b. Analyzing and explaining information about political/civic life
   c. Synthesizing and explaining information about political/civic life
   d. Evaluating, taking, and defending positions on public events and issues
   e. Thinking critically about conditions of political/civic life
   f. Thinking constructively about how to improve political/civic life

3. **PARTICIPATORY SKILLS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY (PARTICIPATORY CIVIC SKILLS)**
   a. Interacting with other citizens to promote personal and common interests
   b. Monitoring public events and issues
   c. Deliberating and making decisions about public policy issues
   d. Influencing policy decisions on public issues
   e. Implementing policy decision on public issues
   f. Taking action to improve political/civic life

4. **DISPOSITIONS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY (CIVIC DISPOSITIONS)**
   a. Affirming the common and equal humanity and dignity of each person
   b. Respecting, protecting, and exercising rights possessed equally by each person
   c. Participating responsibly in the political/civic life of the community
   d. Practicing self government and supporting government by consent of the governed
   e. Exemplifying the moral traits of democratic citizenship
   f. Promoting the common good

depiction of categories to visualize and ponder the complex and continuous connections of the components in use.

As depicted in the first component of Figure 1, civic knowledge involves teaching and learning systematically and thoroughly a set of concepts by which democracy in today's world is defined, practiced, and evaluated. These concepts include representative democracy or republicanism; constitutionalism or limited government and the rule of law; rights to life, liberty, equality, and property; citizenship, which entails civic identity and responsibility for the common good; civil society or a free and open society; and market economy or a free and open economy. Acquisition of such concepts as a set, a framework of connected ideas, enables learners to know complexly and deeply what a democracy in today's world is, and what it is not; to distinguish democracy from other types of government; and to evaluate the extent to which their government and other governments of the world are or are not authentic constitutional representative democracies. (See the list of core concepts in Figure 2, page 12.)

The civic knowledge category of Figure 1 also denotes perennial and pervasive issues about the meaning and applications to political and civic life of core ideas, such as rights to liberty and the rule of law. What exactly do these ideas mean in the lives of citizens and the operations of government? How can these worthy ideas be applied through government most effectively and responsibly? Knowledge of public debates about these issues belongs in the common education of citizens in a democracy. So does knowledge of pivotal public policy decisions and landmark cases of the Supreme Court, which have exemplified ongoing controversy about the principles and practices of democracy in United States history. Further, the civic knowledge category properly includes ideas and information about the constitution and

institutions of government in the polity. Finally, the history of democracy and freedom in the world is an important facet of civic knowledge that provides learners with various perspectives and contexts by which to more fully comprehend the enduring ideas, issues, decisions, and institutions associated with today's dominant type of political order.

Basic knowledge of democracy, its principles, practices, issues, and history, must be applied effectively to civic and political life if it would be learned thoroughly and used constructively. Thus, a central facet of education for citizenship in a democracy must be development of cognitive civic skills, which are included in the second component of Figure 1. Cognitive civic skills enable citizens to identify, describe, organize, interpret, explain, and evaluate information and ideas in order to make sense of their political and civic experiences. Thus, they might respond to those experiences reasonably and effectively; and when faced with public issues, they might adroitly make and defend decisions about them.

The third component of Figure 1 treats participatory civic skills, which empower citizens to influence public policy decisions and to hold accountable their representatives in government. In combination with cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills are tools of citizenship whereby individuals, whether acting alone or in groups, can participate effectively to promote personal and common interests in response to public issues.

The fourth and final component of education for citizenship in a democracy pertains to civic dispositions, which are traits of character necessary to the preservation and improvement of a constitutional representative democracy. If citizens would enjoy the privileges and rights of their polity, they must take responsibility for them by promoting the common good and participating constructively in the political and civic life of the community. This kind of

responsible citizenship depends upon the development and practice of traits such as self-discipline or self-regulation, civility, honesty, trust, courage, compassion, tolerance, temperance, and respect for the worth and dignity of all individuals. These moral traits must be nurtured through various social agencies, including the school, to sustain a healthy constitutional representative democracy. Alexis de Tocqueville called these traits of responsible behavior the "habits of the heart" that represent the indispensable morality of democratic citizenship. Without these "habits of the heart" firmly implanted in the character of citizens, said Tocqueville, the best constitutions, institutions, and laws cannot bring about a sustainable democracy (Bradley 1945, Vol. I, 299).

Effective education for citizenship in a democracy connects the four components in Figure 1, which interrelate civic knowledge, cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions. Effective teaching and learning of civic knowledge, for example, requires that it be connected to civic skills and dispositions in various kinds of activities, which involve application of core concepts through exercise of civic skills and dispositions. Elevation of one component over the other – for example, civic knowledge over skills or vice-versa – is a pedagogical flaw that impedes civic learning (Bruer 1993, 15; Shanker 1997, 5). Thus, the conjoining through curriculum and instruction of core content, processes, skills, and dispositions is necessary to develop effective and responsible citizenship in a democracy.

Delivering a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

The kind of civic education represented by the four-component model can yield citizens with (1) deep understanding of the essential concepts and principles of democracy, (2) strong

commitment to them based on reason, (3) high capacity for using them freely and independently to analyze, appraise, and decide about the issues and problems of the civic and political world, (4) well-developed dispositions to promote the common good, and (5) the competence to participate responsibly and effectively to influence constructively their civil society and government. But this desirable result will not be achieved unless the components of civic education are addressed adequately in well-designed programs for the education of K-12 students and their teachers (Butts 1989, 226-279; Niemi and Junn 1998, 158-159). Teachers cannot teach what they do not know and are unable to do. If they do not learn the principles and practices of democracy, and how to teach them, then they will not be prepared to educate their elementary and secondary school students for citizenship in a democracy. Let us, then, turn to the delivery or implementation of the four-component model (Figure 1) in the K-12 curriculum of public and private schools and in the programs in higher education by which prospective K-12 teachers are educated and certified. How can it be done?

Here is a short list of recommendations. Although they are put forward primarily for the improvement of civic education in the United States, these recommendations may also be usefully adapted by civic educators in other countries.

1. Use the four-component model (Figure 1, page 6) to identify and articulate the core content of a common civic education in grades K-12; that is, civic learning for all citizens regardless of differences in race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or socioeconomic class. Implementation of the model is founded on the assumption that all knowledge is **not** of equal worth. Rather, some ideas, information, and issues should be viewed by teachers and students as more important for particular purposes and thereby more worthy of emphasis in the school

curriculum than other subject matter (Bruer 1993, 63-79; Cromer 1997, 177-184). For instance, the ideas in Figure 2 (page 12) are examples of the concepts and principles of democracy in the first category of the model which are to be learned in common by all students.[5] These concepts should be in the core curriculum because they are widely, if not universally, accepted as the distinguishing categories and characteristics by which to judge whether a particular regime is more or less democratic. If people would establish, maintain, or improve a democratic political system, they must first know the concepts or criteria by which to distinguish a democratic government from a nondemocratic government. Thus, these concepts belong in the common education of all persons who would know the meaning and uses of democracy and democratic citizenship. As students mature, they should encounter and use the same interconnected core concepts in cycles of increasing depth and complexity and in relationship to an ever-broader scope of information.

Core content is the indispensable foundation of an effective civic education. Research on the learning of civic knowledge shows strong connections between conceptual understanding of core democratic principles, such as those in Figure 2, and "enlightened political engagement," which construct subsumes such attributes of democratic citizenship as political interest, sense of political efficacy, political tolerance, commitment to basic civil liberties, and civic competence (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996, 19-20; Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996, 14-38; Niemi and Junn 1998, 9-10; Putnam 2000, 35-36). So knowledgeable citizens are better citizens of a democracy in regard to their possession and use of civic skills and civic dispositions, such as those in Figure 1.

Figure 2

Concepts at the Core of Education for Citizenship in a Democracy (The Civic Knowledge Component)

1. **REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY (REPUBLICANISM)**
   a. Popular sovereignty (government by consent of the governed, the people)
   b. Representation and accountability in a government of, by, and for the people
   c. Free, fair, and competitive elections of representatives in government
   d. Comprehensive eligibility to participate freely to vote and campaign in elections
   e. Inclusive access to participate freely to promote personal and common interests
   f. Majority rule of the people for the common good
2. **CONSTITUTIONALISM**
   a. Rule of law in the government, society, and economy
   b. A government limited and empowered to secure rights of the people
   c. Separation and sharing of powers as a means to limited government
   d. An independent judiciary with power of judicial or constitutional review by which to limit government according to the rule of law
3. **RIGHTS (LIBERALISM)**
   a. Natural rights/human rights/constitutional rights
   b. Political or public rights
   c. Personal or private rights
   d. Economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights
   e. Rights associated with negative and positive constitutionalism
   f. Individual and collective rights
4. **CITIZENSHIP**
   a. Membership in a people based on legal qualifications of citizenship
   b. Rights, responsibilities, and roles of citizenship
   c. Civic identity
   d. Citizenship in unitary, federal, and confederal systems
5. **CIVIL SOCIETY (FREE AND OPEN SOCIAL SYSTEM)**
   a. Voluntary membership in nongovernmental organizations/civil associations
   b. Freedom of association, assembly, and social choice
   c. Pluralism/multiple and overlapping group memberships and identities
   d. Social regulation for the common good (rule of law, traditions, morals, virtues)
6. **MARKET ECONOMY (FREE AND OPEN ECONOMIC SYSTEM)**
   a. Freedom of exchange and economic choice through the market
   b. Freedom to own and use property for personal gain
   c. Economic regulation for the common good (rule of law, traditions, morals, virtues)

2. Identify and include as appropriate in the K-12 core curriculum the perennial public issues, and the pivotal decisions that have been made in response to these controversies, in the history of democracy in the world and in particular countries such as the United States of America. Require students in elementary and secondary schools to apply the set of core concepts on democracy and democratic citizenship in Figure 2 to the analysis and appraisal of the enduring public issues and the authoritative decisions about them by executive and legislative policy makers and by judges in courts of law. This regular examination of key ideas and systematic practice in applying them to the organization and interpretation of information and issues is "what makes students learn" the meaning of democracy and how to practice it (Niemi and Junn 1998, 117-146). So, concepts on the substance of democracy, listed in Figure 2, are prerequisites to the development and maintenance of an active and responsible community of self-governing citizens. Without this kind of common civic knowledge, which can be developed through common learning experiences in school, citizens are unable to act together to analyze public policy issues or problems, to make cogent decisions about them, or to participate intelligently to resolve them (Niemi and Junn 198, 19-20).

Toni Marie Massaro, the author of *Constitutional Literacy: A Core Curriculum for a Multicultural Nation*, persuasively advocates teaching and learning core ideas in constitutional history through analyses and evaluation of core constitutional conflicts or issues. She recommends a core curriculum consisting of the kind of civic knowledge exemplified in Figure 2 and the constitutional issues in history associated with political and governmental practices of the core ideas about democracy. Mastery of her proposed core curriculum, she maintains, will yield "constitutional literacy, which means not only recognition of constitutional terms,

constitutional dilemmas, and historical assumptions on which the Constitution arguably rests but also the recognition of the paradox on which the document is based [majority rule with protection of minority rights], its dynamism, and its multiple contested interpretations" (Massaro 1993, 153).

3. Use landmark historical documents as sources of ideas and information about enduring public issues and as objects for the practice of cognitive and participatory skills, such as those in categories 2 and 3 of the model in Figure 1. Core concepts and issues on democracy and freedom are embedded in the founding documents and in documents of subsequent periods of U.S. history. The pedagogical problem is to select a few of the very best documents available, and to organize them effectively for teaching and learning in the classroom.

A worthy list of core documents on democracy suitable for the core curriculum certainly includes the traditional texts of the founding era, such as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Federalist Papers, and the Antifederalist Papers (Patrick, 1995, 2000b, 2002). But it also includes pieces by women, African Americans, indigenous peoples, and others that broaden a student's understanding of multiple perspectives and interpretations of key founding-era events. A few examples of nontraditional founding-era documents worthy of inclusion in the core curriculum are a petition against slavery to the General Court of Massachusetts by free African Americans, 1777, which used principles of the Declaration of Independence in arguments for freedom; a letter from three Seneca leaders to President Washington, 1790, which expressed critical opinions about the effects of the American Revolution on indigenous peoples; letters exchanged by Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren on political and social issues of the 1770s; a sermon against slavery by the Reverend James Dana, 1791; and a letter to Thomas

Jefferson from Benjamin Banneker, 1791, which included discussion of severe discrepancies between civic ideals of the American Revolution and the condition of black people in the United States (Patrick 1995, 73-107).

Ideas and controversies about constitutional democracy and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, rooted in the founding era, have permeated U.S. history from the 1770s through the 1990s. Thus, documents in subsequent periods of the country's history, which fit the American civic tradition, should be part of the core curriculum. And they should reflect various voices, diverse perspectives, and multiple interpretations of fundamental ideas, issues, and events in the development of American constitutional democracy. A few illustrative examples of the kinds of documents subsequent to the founding era that might be included in the core curriculum are the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions at Seneca Falls, New York, 1848; the Independence Day Speech by Frederick Douglass at Rochester, New York, 1852; the Gettysburg Address, 1863, and Second Inaugural Address, 1865, by Abraham Lincoln; the Four Freedoms Speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1941; and Letter from Birmingham Jail and the I Have a Dream Speech by Martin Luther King, Jr., 1963 (Center for Civic Education 1997; Patrick 2000b and 2002).

Excerpts from certain landmark Supreme Court decisions, which apply fundamental principles of democracy to key constitutional issues, should also be included in any collection of core documents for secondary school students (Patrick 2001a). Many of these court cases involve issues of majority rule and minority rights, liberty and equality, diversity and unity, which significantly have affected the civic life of diverse individuals and groups in the United States.

4. Emphasize deliberative classroom discussions of core ideas and issues in landmark historical documents through which civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions can be developed among elementary and secondary school students. The deliberative discussion is a method of teaching that challenges classes of students to participate in discourse for the purposes of (1) organizing and interpreting information in primary documents, (2) examining collaboratively core ideas and issues, and (3) exchanging viewpoints, which may be more or less different, about enduring controversies in history. Deliberative discussions provide opportunities for students to practice such cognitive processes as reflective thinking, critical thinking, and historical thinking.[6] Deliberative discussions are also occasions for the practice of habits associated with the dispositions or morality of democratic citizenship. As they interact reasonably and cooperatively to discuss ideas and issues, students cultivate cognitive skills, participatory skills, and traits of morality, such as civility and tolerance.[7]

Deliberative discussions that encourage free expression of ideas in an open classroom environment have been related empirically to development of democratic dispositions, civic skills, and knowledge of democracy (Niemi and Junn 1999, 151-152). An international assessment of civic education and achievement revealed a strong relationship between the students' beliefs that they could speak freely in the classroom about public issues and their development of knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship (Torney-Purta, et al 2001, 137).

5. Teach civics and democracy across the curriculum through courses in language arts, literature, social studies, history, geography, and economics in addition to direct instruction through civics/government courses at particular points in the curriculum.

Teaching and learning about citizenship in a democracy is too important to be restricted to one or two semester-length courses in secondary schools. Rather, this essential element of education should be a pervasive theme throughout the K-12 curriculum. In particular, teaching and learning of U.S. history and world history, which are staples of the curriculum, should be directed to the purposes of civic education. Thus, students may have ample opportunity to learn the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are necessary to the development of democratic citizenship.

An excellent example of pervasive civic education from kindergarten through grade 12 is the *Indiana Academic Standards for Social Studies*. The Indiana standards include a substantial civics/government strand at each level from kindergarten through the eighth grade. There also are standards for a high school course in civics/government. And the standards for U.S. history and world history amply address the core ideas, issues, and documents about the development of democracy in various periods of the past.[8]

6. Use the four-component model of civic education in Figure 1 to design and conduct courses in the preparation of social studies teachers, which involve collaboration among professors of education and professors of history and the social sciences. Teachers cannot teach democracy effectively unless they know it thoroughly. And they are not likely to acquire deep comprehension or conceptual understanding of core concepts about democracy unless they encounter them again and again through various facets of their teacher education program. So, concepts at the core of K-12 education for citizenship in a democracy (Figure 2) should also be used to structure the content and instructional activities of civics-centered teacher education courses. This set of ideas and the information and examples denoted by them could

bring cohesion, coherence, and cogency to the content base of civics-centered teacher education courses. By doing this, such common weaknesses of teaching methods courses as fragmentation of subject matter and subordination of content to process might be avoided.

Throughout a civics-centered teaching methods course, the concepts in Figure 2 could be the substantive focal points for planning, constructing, and demonstrating lessons. Various kinds of instructional materials and methods could be used consistently and coherently in terms of the core concepts on citizenship in a democracy. Further, connections easily could be made between the core concepts in Figure 2 and the curriculum frameworks, content standards, and instructional materials commonly used in elementary and secondary school history and civics courses. For example, the core concepts permeate the instructional materials of *We the People... The Citizen and the Constitution*, a three-level civics program for elementary and secondary school students (Center for Civic Education 2000).[9]

Pivotal public issues about the development of democracy in United States history and world history should be focal points of teaching and learning in civics-centered teacher education courses. Through systematic analysis of these issues in landmark historical documents, students preparing to become teachers might learn how to teach core concepts on democracy in connection with pivotal constitutional and political issues in United States history and world history. They also might develop skills in the analysis and appraisal of important primary texts in history, which skills can later be passed on by them to their elementary or secondary school students.

Prospective teachers can learn how to conduct deliberative discussions of core ideas and issues in primary documents by regularly engaging in such discussions in their teacher education

courses. Thus, they might develop the skills and dispositions needed for successful use of this teaching method.

Finally, civic learning in the preparation of social studies, history, and civics/government teachers is equally the responsibility of professors of education and professors of history and the social sciences. Thus, there should be cooperation across university departments in the design and delivery of civic education for prospective teachers.

Defending a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

A well-defined education for citizenship in a democracy will not be delivered successfully to learners unless it can be defended reasonably against skeptics or opponents. What, then, are a few brief but compelling reasons for the common civic education set forth in the preceding parts of this presentation?[10]

The primary justification for a common civic education grows out of the perennial challenge confronting every human society to maintain some form of social stability, cultural continuity, and political order against the perpetual threats of disintegration, discontinuity, and anarchy. For most peoples of our world today, the preferred system for maintaining social stability and political order is some kind of constitutional representative democracy, because only this type of regime protects public and personal rights and provides government by consent of the governed. And only a constitutional representative democracy guarantees both individual liberty and collective order.[11] A democratic political order, however, cannot be sustained unless a sufficient proportion of individuals within each succeeding generation learns the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed by citizens to make the polity work. Further,

sufficient numbers of persons in each succeeding generation of citizens are not likely to learn essential civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions unless they are taught them deliberately and effectively by well-educated teachers in primary and secondary schools. Finally, social studies teachers in public and private schools are not likely to teach effectively the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed by citizens to sustain and improve their democracy unless they are equipped to do so through civics-centered teacher education courses, which are connected to relevant university-based history and social science courses.

There currently are grounds for great concern about our effectiveness in teaching about democracy and citizenship to young Americans. The 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics revealed unsatisfactory achievement among a majority of students in grades four, eight, and twelve (Lutkus, et al 1999). The results of the 2001 NAEP in U.S. history were worse than those of the NAEP in civics (Lapp, et al 2002).[12] And current research by political scientists indicates disturbing evidence of political and civic apathy and a gross decline in the kind of civic engagement required to sustain a healthy democracy (Putnam 2000; Sandel 1996). So, we Americans currently face an especially challenging time in the history of our democracy, when we must strengthen common civic education as one way to renew the vitality of common citizenship in our democracy.

A common civic education, such as the kind defined in Figure 1, is directed to development of a common civic identity among citizens with the freedom to choose or affirm different ways to pursue happiness or fulfillment. Cultural diversity flourishes in a free and democratic society, such as the Untied States of America. And national and civic unity may be at risk in such a multicultural society. Unless citizens with diverse identities regarding race,

ethnicity, religion, gender, and socioeconomic class can know and support in common certain civic principles and values, they will not develop a common and unifying civic identity, which can be the cohesive core of a multicultural society. And a functioning civic community or civil society will be sustained only if citizens can communicate and cooperate in terms of a common civic culture (Curtler 2001, 91-115; Damon 2001, 133-140).

Civic educators of yesterday and today have understood that Americans have been and are a people tied together primarily by common civic principles and values rather than common kinship, ethnicity, or religion – the ties that have bound most other nations in the world. A main point of civic education in the United States, therefore, has been to develop among diverse people a common commitment to principles and values expressed in such founding documents as the 1776 Declaration of Independence, the 1787 Constitution, and the 1791 Bill of Rights. Building and maintaining national unity from social and cultural diversity is an imperative of education for citizenship in a democracy like the United States (Patrick 2000b).

Another compelling justification for a common civic education is a long-standing assumption in Western civilization: all human beings have a common human nature (Coons and Brennan 1999; Danford 2000). By nature, therefore, each individual is equal in her or his possession of certain natural or human rights, such as those to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In line with this assumption about human nature, all individuals in a democracy are thought to be equal in their rights and their status as citizens. And, as we Americans have long believed, "Governments are instituted among Men to secure these rights, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."[11] Citizens of such a government must be educated to judge and decide freely, for themselves, what actions of their government will or will not secure

their natural rights. **So, the overriding purpose of a common education for citizenship in a democracy is to develop each person's capacity to make informed and reasonable decisions about public policy issues and constitutional controversies.**[14] This educational purpose is anchored in the principles and values of America's founding documents and in the belief that each person is "by nature equal" (Coons and Brennan 1999).

Civic education in an authentic constitutional representative democracy has the paradoxical mission of sustaining a particular kind of political order and, at the same time, promoting free and independent choices by autonomous citizens. Amy Gutmann (1999, 114-16) refers to this paradox as "conscious social reproduction," and she says it is a necessary educational process in any free and democratic society.

Gutmann claims, and I agree, that the free and democratic society, if it would survive, must transmit its civic and political traditions from one generation to the next. "We are all committed to re-creating the society that we share," says Gutmann (1999, 39). Stephen Macedo concurs, "The project of creating citizens is one that every liberal democratic state must somehow undertake" (2000, ix). However, a central tradition and essential element of our free and democratic society is the capacity of citizens to comprehend and think critically about the content and processes of the political socialization, or social reproduction, that they inevitably experience (Cremin 1977, 36-37). "It follows," says Gutmann, "that a society in support of conscious social reproduction must educate all educable children to be capable of participating in collectively shaping their society" to sustain and improve it (1999, 39). If so, education for citizenship in a constitutional representative democracy is true to a core principle of its theory and practice – the individual's right to liberty within conditions of an open and orderly society.

Civic education in a modern democratic and free society, if it would be true to its mission, paradoxically conjoins two competing political and educational traditions in Western civilization: liberalism and civic republicanism. Purposes of liberal education are addressed by promotion of the individual's autonomy and capacity for making informed, reasonable, independent, and free choices in response to public policy issues and constitutional controversies (Levinson 1999). Thus, the tendencies toward political indoctrination inherent in a common civic education are limited or thwarted. Likewise, the inherent liberal tendencies toward socially irresponsible individualism and license are constrained or controlled by civic republican purposes pertaining to responsibilities of citizenship for the common good.

This blend of civic republicanism and liberalism in education for democratic citizenship reflects the hybrid political and civic tradition of the United States, which has prevailed from its founding era until today (Rahe 1992; Sinopoli 1992). Stephen Macedo calls it "civic liberalism" and it demands a "liberal civic education" that fosters liberty and order in a community that promotes both individual rights and the common good (Macedo 2000, 149).

My definition of education for citizenship in a democracy, depicted in Figure 1, implies a liberal civic education to prepare individuals for a life of liberty in a well-ordered community. If they experience such a liberal education for democratic citizenship, students will learn what democracy is, how to practice it, why it may succeed or fail, and why it is worthy. They may also enhance their capacities to develop and maintain the kind of political and civic conditions that are indispensable to its survival. Finally, through this kind of liberal civic education, students may learn that a democracy's success or failure depends ultimately on the knowledge, skills, dispositions, and actions of committed citizens, just like them. Let us strive to achieve this

outcome through a carefully defined, effectively delivered, and compellingly defended common education for citizenship in a democracy.

Notes

1. In the development of this paper, I have drawn upon the contents of two previous publications (a) "Concepts at the Core of Education for Democratic Citizenship," in Charles F. Bahmueller, and John J. Patrick, eds., *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects* (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1999), 1-40 and (b) "Components of Education for Democratic Citizenship in the Preparation of Social Studies Teachers," in John J. Patrick and Robert S. Leming, eds., *Principles and Practices of Democracy in the Education of Social Studies Teachers: Civic Learning in Teacher Education*, Volume 1 (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2001), 39-64.

2. The concepts of democracy and citizenship in a democracy are discussed amply and worthily in the following works: Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Sanford Lakoff, *Democracy: History, Theory, Practice* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996); Paul Rahe, *Republics, Ancient and Modern* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Giovanni Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Press, 1987); and Alain Touraine, *What is Democracy?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997). See articles in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed.,

The Encyclopedia of Democracy, Four Volumes (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1995).

3. See Abraham Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" in Andrew Delbanco, ed., *The Portable Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Viking, 1992), 295.

4. The four-component model presented in Figure 1 is generally similar to the *Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress* (NAEP Civics Consensus Project 1996) and to components of civic education in the *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Center for Civic Education 1994). A previous formulation of the model depicted in Figure 1 was developed by John J. Patrick and published initially in 1999. The current rendition of the model is a refinement of the earlier one.

5. A previous formulation of this list of core concepts on citizenship in a democracy (Figure 2) was developed by John J. Patrick and published in 1999. The current rendition of this list includes minor revisions. This list of core concepts was developed from an extensive review of literature on the theory and practice of democracy. A systematic discussion of each concept its relationship to other concepts in this set and the application of the set to civic education can be found in the first chapter of *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects* (Patrick 1999, 1-40). Each concept in this list and its connections to other basic ideas in democratic theory can also be found, among much broader treatments of democratic ideas, in such widely recognized standard works on civic education for democracy as *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education* (Center for Civic Education 1991), *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Center for Civic Education 1994), and *An International Framework for Education in Democracy* (Center for Civic

Education 2002). So, the core concepts in Figure 2 can justifiably be presented as a generally acceptable and minimally essential set of ideas by which to construct the knowledge component of civic education in elementary and secondary schools as well as in civics-centered programs for teacher education.

6. Historical thinking involves context-based analysis and appraisal of the content of primary documents. For a book-length discussion of this idea, see Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

7. Walter C. Parker is a leading advocate and practitioner of deliberative discussion in civic education. See "Teaching Teachers to Lead Discussions: Democratic Education in Content and Method," in John J. Patrick and Robert S. Leming, eds., *Principles and Practices of Democracy in the Education of Social Studies Teachers: Civic Learning in Teacher Education*, Volume 1 (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2001), 111-133.

8. The *Indiana Academic Standards for Social Studies* were approved by the State Board of Education on August 3, 2001. Go to this World Wide Web site to see the standards: <http://ideanet.doe.state.in.us/standards/welcome2html>.

9. An excellent curriculum for teaching elementary and secondary students about core concepts of democracy and issues connected to them is *We the People. . . the Citizen and the Constitution*, published by the Center for Civic Education. This civics curriculum includes three sets of materials: the first for students in grades 4 or 5, the second for students in grades 7 or 8, and the third for high school students in grades 11 or 12. These instructional materials can also

be used in civics-centered teacher education courses to prepare future social studies teachers.

10. My emphasis is upon common civic education, which can be delivered through the common or public school or through independent or private schools. In this emphasis, I am influenced by Rosemary Salomone, *Visions of Schooling: Competence, Community, and Common Education* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000). State departments of education can mandate requirements for a common education, including civics, which apply equally to public and private schools in the state. So, I do not tie a common education for citizenship in a democracy to attendance at a public or common school.

11. Throughout this paper, I use the term constitutional representative democracy to refer to the kind of democracy in which the Constitution guarantees equally the rights of individuals in the polity, and where representatives in government are elected by and accountable to the people. Therefore, this label, constitutional representative democracy, may be used interchangeably with two other terms: liberal democracy and constitutional republic.

12. Reports of these two national assessments, the 1998 NAEP in civics and the 2001 NAEP in U.S. history, can be accessed at the following World Wide Web site: <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard>.

13. The source of the quotation in this paragraph is the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

14. The major goal of Thomas Jefferson in the common education of citizens was "to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom" (quoted in Lorraine Smith Pangle and Thomas J. Pangle, *The Learning of Liberty: The Educational Ideas of the American Founders* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1993), 108.

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